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THE NATIONAL Voter

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES

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U.N.—CONTRIBUTIONS IN CRISES

By MRS. GEORGE A. LITTLE, *Observer at the United Nations for the League of Women Voters*

Since last fall when the 15th session of the General Assembly opened, the crisis and drama of Cuban counterrevolution, Algerian rebellion, and space exploration have made the moment when Soviet delegation Chairman Khrushchev pounded the desk with his shoe seem far removed and unimportant. However, out of the maelstrom of name-calling and frenzy of the session some accomplishments and new directions have emerged.

In spite of constant attacks by the U.S.S.R., to whom Mr. Hammarskjöld is an "arm of the West" and "collaborator with colonialism," the nations of the world stood firmly behind the Secretary General in his handling of U.N. mandates on the Congo. Each time the U.S.S.R. attempted to censure Mr. Hammarskjöld through resolution, that resolution was soundly defeated. The vote on the last one, just before the General Assembly adjourned, was 85 against, 11 for (including the Soviet bloc, Cuba, Guinea), 5 abstentions. Thus the executive arm of the U.N. seems stronger now than when the session began, and proof positive had been supplied that one nation, no matter how determined, cannot rule the U.N. against the wish of the majority.

However, another phase of Soviet attack continues mercilessly—the proposal that the Secretary General be replaced by a triumvirate representing East, West, and neutral member nations. While this drive has been ineffectual, since all are aware that government by a Board on which each member has the veto would result in a paralyzed U.N.,

the showdown will come when Mr. Hammarskjöld's term of office is over in 1962. Time is on the side of the West in finding a workable and acceptable compromise, but the danger inherent in the present proposal cannot be ignored.

The Congo

Considering Soviet attack on each phase of the Congo operation, Belgian reluctance to withdraw its personnel, and continuous tribal warfare and struggle for personal power by native factions, it is a near miracle that the U.N. has been able to preserve a measure of neutrality in the Congo. After months of struggle a glimmer of light shows through the gloom, and the Congolese are finding answers to their most severe governmental problems. U.N. perseverance has maintained order in spite of charges of bias from every faction, food has been distributed to halt starvation, and proof has been provided in every area of Congolese life that the U.N. can be effective even when tossed into the midst of a cold-war struggle.

The small-nation majority played a large part in the effort, by presenting resolutions acceptable to all when otherwise an East-West stalemate might have resulted and by supplying the 23,000 men and officers requested by the Secretary General to maintain order. Not only has the Congo been saved from civil war or domination by a stronger power during its first steps toward independence, but a precedent has been set whereby the U.N. could assist in like cases in Africa if necessary. Per-

haps most important, the role of the small-nation majority as a responsible balance between the two great powers was exercised successfully.

Agenda—Finished And Unfinished

At the reconvened session in March there was U.S. and U.S.S.R. agreement on a joint resolution to defer disarmament talks until fall. The United States has always felt that negotiations on disarmament are best carried on in smaller groups, and as the new U.S. Administration needed time in which to review the whole disarmament question it did not want to face the U.S.S.R. demand for "total and complete disarmament" in a general session. The negotiated reprieve was a feather in Ambassador Stevenson's cap.

In general, Mr. Stevenson had hoped to shorten the agenda of the March session to include only those items of most pressing concern: the Congo, U.N. financing, elections to fill existing vacancies on major councils. Thus he and Mr. Gromyko spent a week in private negotiation while other delegates wryly murmured against using more time to shorten the agenda than it would take to get through it. Mr. Stevenson was not too successful, as the Russians wanted to trade Hungary for U2, and Tibet for old Cuban charges, and we were not willing to make such "deals."

Then the Cuban invasion altered all plans and the whole agenda was knocked into a cocked hat.

Accomplishments included elec-

tion of Italy to fill the vacancy on the Economic and Social Council, and provision of a fund to cover the Congo operation until next fall's session could ensure a more permanent financial structure. Bits and pieces of cold-war grievance were aired in the last hours of the final sessions; delegates sat till six a.m.

How Did We Do?

On balance, the United States has come through this session rather well. With the admission of 17 new nations, practical politics dictated that steps be taken to see that U.S. positions and goals be made clear to new, often uninstructed delegates. Accordingly, a larger, higher-ranking delegation was appointed for the March session to ensure us every opportunity to make friends with those who may hold the balance of power.

The Administration also decided on a major policy change in its attitude toward issues involving colonial powers. Since the Suez crisis in 1956 we have been chary of taking a stand on any issue which could be construed as unsympathetic to our NATO allies. This attitude has at times had the effect of convincing many Africans that we are against their desire for freedom.

Since this is farthest from the truth, the United States decided to assess each resolution concerning colonial matters on merit, vote according to the spirit of the resolution (letting our NATO allies know

of our stand in advance), and seek to convince African nations of our sincerity in support of that desire.

Accordingly, when a resolution for U.N. aid to Angola that would help prepare her for independence came before the Security Council, we voted for it. We condemned the South African policy of apartheid, though we refused to countenance economic sanctions against that nation on the ground that such a course might harm the very people we wanted to help. This flexible and realistic approach has made a deep impression on the Africans, and negotiations with them on matters not involving colonial issues has thereby been facilitated.

Cuba

A low ebb in U.S. prestige came when Cuba was invaded. When the subject was first discussed in the political committee, Mexico presented a resolution, which included "an urgent appeal to all states to ensure that their territories and resources are not used to promote the civil war in Cuba." The vote—47 for, 7 against, 44 abstentions—was a stinging rebuke to the United States, mitigated by the fact that this test vote indicated that a two-thirds vote for the resolution could not be obtained in the General Assembly.

Whether for this reason or whether the Latins had second thoughts as to the wisdom of such a course in view of obvious Soviet aid in Cuba, when the resolution did come to the

floor it was changed so that no condemnation of the United States was implied. After all our efforts to win the favor of the smaller nations, the Cuban fiasco provided a disappointing but not lethal setback.

What Next For U.S.?

The first problem the U.N. must face next fall is the long deferred one of adequate financing, particularly for "peace and security" actions. As a permanent member of the Security Council and as a nation interested in seeing security promoted through U.N. action, we shall be heavily responsible for supporting whatever financing formula is arrived at. At present the yearly cost of all U.N. activity is less than the amount spent by the world toward the arms race in half a day, so discussing U.N. effort on the basis of dollars and cents may seem as though we have lost all sense of value and proportion.

However, for those voters who know little about the U.N. except that they "believe in it," the argument "why should we pay so much when Russia refuses to give?" may seem a valid reason for objection to congressional appropriation.

Added to this argument will be the fact that with the increase in size of the U.N. to 99 members a shift in balance of power has occurred. No longer can the West be assured of dominance, and the fear of being outvoted as well as carrying a disproportionate financial burden becomes a bogey-man to many citizens.

The hopes and desires of most other nations and ours are still the same: freedom, preservation of the dignity of man, a chance for each nation to develop its human and material resources to the fullest. Since at present the U.N. is the only institution through which to achieve these goals cooperatively, adequate U.S. support seems wise even though we may occasionally face an adverse vote or pay an extra assessment toward a U.N. peace force in place of sending our own soldiers to a troubled area.

Certainly if it succeeds in its purposes, no other organization offers a better return to the United States for "going the extra mile" than does the United Nations.



Mrs. Robert J. Phillips, President, accepts on behalf of League of Women Voters of the United States an American Heritage Foundation award presented April 27 during the League's national Council meeting in Washington, D. C., by General Alfred M. Gruenther, President of American National Red Cross and Trustee of the Foundation. In center is Mrs. Robert J. Stuart, national chairman of the League's Voters Service. The award is in recognition of Voters Service work by local Leagues in all 50 states in the 1960 elections. Below reproduction of text of Gettysburg address in Lincoln's handwriting is inscription to the League "in appreciation of outstanding citizenship."

WATER'S HOT!

"Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays." . . . "Yeas 307 and nays 110; not voting, 16." Thus the bill to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act passed in the House and was sent to the Senate.

Proponents of the bill as reported out of the House Subcommittee on Rivers and Harbors had presented their arguments. Supporters of the minority report had countered with objections and their proposals. Back and forth it went until each side had used its half of the two hours allotted by the Rules Committee. Then three amendments to weaken the bill were offered. Three times a division of the House was called, the time-to-vote bell clanged in the ante-rooms, Representatives surged in to defeat the amendments.

Remember how Leagues all over the country told the Senate Select Committee on National Water Resources that stream pollution was one of the worst problems in their communities? How Leagues helped to interest their local newspapers in reporting the National Conference on Water Pollution? How at that conference national Board member Mrs. Whittemore used a Texas League's sewer bond slogan—"Beaumont is beautiful, but it stinks"—to illustrate citizens' work and was quoted in newspapers from coast to coast? It all helped create a favorable climate for passage of the bill.

TO FIGHT POLLUTION

KULP in the March VOTER told of League testimony on bills to strengthen the Water Pollution Control Act. On the very day the House was voting on the pollution bill, the League got word that the Senate Subcommittee on Rivers and Harbors would hold its hearings within the week.

Again the League spoke in support of an increase in incentive grants to municipalities for sewage plant construction and to state agencies for development of state programs and in support of federal authority to enforce cleanup of seriously polluted intrastate and coastal as well as interstate waters. Testimony at this hearing was given by national Board member Mrs. Rosenblum.

Such testimony, however, has been the least part of League action for clean water. *Your letters to your*

Congressmen and *your conversation* with them during Easter recess were the really effective contacts. Surely some of those 307 affirmative votes were influenced by action of individual League members and of other local people and organizations reminded by League members to speak to their Representatives in support of stronger measures for clean water.

TO COORDINATE PROGRAMS

The League has also been active in support of better development of water resources. One way has been by promotion of S.239, Conservation and Resources Act of 1961, which is the same as the League-supported 1960 Murray Bill, S.2549.

As the April KULP told, at the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs hearing Mrs. Whittemore testified in support of an annual Resources and Conservation Report to the President and Congress and in support of a Council of Resource and Economic Advisers with direct access to the President. As to whether these should be under the present Council of Economic Advisers, Mrs. Whittemore said, "There is an aspect of sheer survival involved in water and some other natural resources which strongly suggests that a separate council and a separate report would better serve the nation."

Provision for over-all consideration of water-resource development in Congress, perhaps by a select committee in each house, was also emphasized in League testimony.

Last year 12 state Leagues and this year 14 state Leagues filed state-

ments in support of the Resources and Conservation Act. This show of citizen interest seems to have made a real impression on the Committee. This year, some interest in the proposal is developing in the House.

ACTION IN BASIN GROUPS

There has been League action in the river basins as well as on national issues. The April KULP noted that the Idaho, Montana, Oregon, and Washington Leagues worked for ratification of the Columbia Basin Compact by their legislatures. It reported, too, support by the Delaware, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania Leagues for the proposed federal-interstate Delaware Basin Compact.

When a hearing on federal consent to the Delaware Basin Compact was held before Representative Walter's subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee, the Inter-League Council on the Delaware sent a spokesman to testify in support of the bill.

The Leagues of the Concord and Sudbury river basins, Massachusetts, asked national Board permission to support joint federal-state-local acquisition of the wetlands for flood control and recreation.

The national Continuing Responsibility has made it possible for state Leagues with no water program item to take effective "one shot" action. Wyoming opposed a bill to exempt agricultural processing from state stream pollution control regulations. Washington supported a bill to appropriate money for a study of state water resources. Maine testi-



Admiral Felix B. Stump, Vice Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, presents the Foundation's Honor Certificate award to the League of Women Voters of the United States for its "outstanding Voters Service Project" in 1960. Mrs. Robert J. Phillips, national President of the League, accepted "on behalf of all 132,000 members." The award was given in ceremonies at the U.S. Capitol on May 19. The plaque carries a citation to the League for "an outstanding achievement in bringing about a better understanding of the American way of life."

fied at the Corps' hearing on the Androscoggin River.

PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE

Individual Leagues have been acting. The State College League, Pennsylvania, opposed an application to stripmine along a stream now free from acid mine drainage. In Oregon the Portland League successfully supported a charter amendment to reduce pollution of the Willamette and Columbia rivers. St. Paul-Minneapolis area Leagues are working for group consensus to solve a sewage disposal problem.

The Interstate Council on the Ohio River Basin and the inter-League group on the Missouri are at work on their *Know Your River Basin* publications.

When the U.S. Study Commissions now operating in Texas and the Southeast (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina) complete their reports in 1961, Leagues in these areas may consider the plans proposed and measure them against League criteria.

If the Administration proposal for a U.S. River Basin Commission for every basin is carried out, many more Leagues may want to use the national Water CR as authority for study and, with national Board permission, for action.

Has this been an active CR? The answer is yes—definitely yes!

KULP

(Keeping Up with League Program)
(as of May 15)

FOREIGN POLICY. Latin American Appropriation: Congress approved the \$500 million appropriation for the Inter-American Fund for Social Progress—the House April 25, the Senate May 9. The Senate amended the bill, H.R. 6518, placing a ceiling of 8 percent on interest for loans and re loans, but the House refused to take part in a conference, asking the Senate to reconsider the unamended bill. No further League action is needed.

P.L. 480: A 5-year extension of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act, providing for disposal of agricultural surpluses to developing countries, is included in omnibus farm program legislation, H.R. 6400 and S. 1643. Besides extending the Act and authorizing appropriations of \$7.5 billion for sales and \$1.5 billion for grants, these bills

propose a new P. L. 480 section providing for contribution of surpluses to national food reserves in underdeveloped countries.

House and Senate Agriculture Committees began hearings early in May.

P.L. 480 Funds for Fiscal 1961: The Senate April 24 and the House April 26 passed a bill authorizing \$2 billion additional to pay for food distributed abroad in 1961. The additional funds will cover a 4-year Pakistan program totaling up to \$1 billion, a possible long-term agreement with Brazil, and other programs.

Tourism: The House during the week of May 15 will consider a bill, H. R. 4614, directing the Secretary of Commerce to encourage travel to the United States by residents of foreign countries and to establish an Office of International Travel and Tourism in the Department of Commerce.

World Court: A proposal that treaties to which the United States is party include provisions calling for impartial settlement by judicial means of legal disputes arising under the treaties and for utilization of the World Court, was introduced May 3 as S. Res. 136 by Sens. Javits (R., N.Y.), Humphrey (D., Minn.), and Clark (D., Pa.). The Resolution was referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

TRADE. Aid for Textiles: A program to help the textile industry meet foreign competition and technological change was announced by President Kennedy May 2. The program, based on recommendations of a Cabinet study committee, includes: research in development of products, processes, and markets, to be made by the Commerce Department in cooperation with labor and management groups; review of existing depreciation allowances on textile machinery by the Treasury Department; Small Business Administration help in obtaining financing for modernization of machinery; an Agriculture Department study of the differential in raw-cotton costs between domestic and foreign textile producers. The President said that a new system of voluntary quotas on textile imports may be considered and that legislation to provide federal relief to industries facing serious injury from increased imports may be introduced soon.

WATER RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT. Pollution Control: See "Water's Hot!" for an account of House

passage of H.R. 6441, a rewritten version of H.R. 4036 which was introduced after the House Public Works Committee had given H.R. 4036 committee consideration. As sent to the Senate the bill provides \$100 million for incentive payments of up to 30 percent of the cost to communities for building sewage-treatment facilities and extends federal anti-pollution enforcement authority to all navigable and coastal waters.

Delaware Interstate Compact: The House Judiciary Committee favorably reported H.J. Res. 225, to approve a compact between the federal government and the Delaware Basin states, April 26.

To National Board

Two new Directors were appointed to the League's national Board on April 28 at the close of the national Council meeting in Washington, D.C. They are:



Mrs. William S. Morgan of Norman, Oklahoma, who joined the League in 1947 . . . held various offices in Norman League 1947-55,

was state League Secretary 1949-51, First Vice President 1955-57, President 1957-61 . . . native of Chicago, holds B.S. degree from University of Tennessee . . . she and husband, former college professor, now own and operate radio station in Norman . . . they have one daughter and grandchildren. (Her Board term will begin August 1.)

Mrs. Haskell Rosenblum of Washington, D.C., who joined the League in 1944 . . . was chairman of various committees in D.C. League 1954-59,



President 1959-61 . . . born in New York City, she graduated from Wellesley College, did postgraduate work at Columbia University and University of Maryland . . . late husband was commissioned officer in U.S. Public Health Service . . . has son and daughter, both in college.

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MRS. ROBERT J. PHILLIPS, President
DOROTHY FELKER GIBSON, Editor
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